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726 pickets appeared on all the frontiers of Georgia. On the same
648 day the Transcaucasian Seim voted its own dissolution, and in the evening Jordania announced the declaration of the Independence of the Georgian Republic. Three days later an agreement was concluded at Poti between v. Lossow and Chenkeli, by which the railways and all naval tonnage were ceded to Germany for the duration of the war. By a later agreement, signed at Batum, the Georgian Government guaranteed to Turkey the free transit of petroleum by the pipe-line from Baku to Batum.

726 The apologia of the Georgian Social Democrats for the German
648 Agreement is set forth in a memorandum to the International
728 Socialist Bureau: "We tried to unite the Transcaucasian peoples to defend the whole of the country. But our attempt was broken by the national hatred of the Armenians and Tatars, which was rending Transcaucasia. . . . We remained alone, in a ring of fire, surrounded by enemies on all sides. The Turks marched on us from west and south, the Bolsheviks menaced from the north, and the Tatars from the east. . . . Germany alone was able to tear us away from the noose of the Turkish agreement on the condition that we handed over to her the control of our railway system. . . . No other means remained to deliver us from the Turkish occupation. Our sovereignty as to the railways was, anyhow, destroyed by our defeat. And we signed the Treaty with the Germans, gave them our railways, received their regiments, on the sole condition—which they fulfilled—to defend us from Turkey and not to interfere with our internal affairs. However," they add, "during the darkest days, when German help was most needed, we did not renounce the right of pitilessly criticising German Imperialism."

The German occupation undoubtedly saved Georgia from anarchy, while the diplomatic support of the German mission allowed the Tiflis Government to pursue a policy, in relation particularly to Armenia, which was scarcely consonant with its "pitiless criticism of German Imperialism." During the spring a military force had been organised at Tiflis round the nucleus of a body of armed workmen, and was styled "The National Guard." This body, after wavering for some time between Bolshevism and a Chauvinistic form of Nationalism, was finally persuaded by its leaders to devote itself to the defence and other interests of the Georgian Republic. The first campaign of the young army was the invasion and occupation of the Armenian part of the Borchalu district,

½ D.C., on May 28, 1918 -- Analyst

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Akhalkalaki, and the circuit of Phambak in the government of Alexandropol, on the pretext that Armenia was "unable to build a viable State." When the Erivan Government protested to v. Kressenstein, he replied that "Germany as an ally had engaged itself to support the Georgian claims." [1]

On the north the revival of the Volunteer Army, during the late summer of 1918, enabled the National Guard to drive the Bolsheviks from Sukhum, Gagri and Sochi, and to occupy the mountain districts of the Abkhazians and Ossets, with all the western and central passes of the Caucasus, including the Mamison and Daryal, controlling respectively the Ossetian and Georgian Military Roads.

The conclusion of the armistice in November 1918 greatly modified the situation in Transcaucasia. While the Germans and Turks withdrew respectively from Georgia and Azerbaijan, the British assumed control of Batum and Baku and the line of the Transcaucasian Railway, while the Armenians proceeded to occupy Alexandropol, Kars, Ardahan and Ardanuch.

Three distinct influences must be considered in relation to the situation: (1) the mutual relations of the three national Republics; (2) The attitude of the Russian counter-revolutionary Government at Ekaterinodar; and (3) the policy of the Entente Powers.

(1) Although circumstances now favoured the Armenians, they were so exhausted by the struggle of the preceding year that the Turks at Erzerum and the Tatars at Baku still remained a real menace to their safety. Nevertheless on their Georgian frontier they undertook an offensive against Akhalkalaki and Shulaveri, with the object of regaining the territories occupied by the Georgians during the summer. The Armenians gained some initial successes, but an armistice was imposed by the Allied authorities and the ultimate allocation of the disputed territories was left to the decision of the Peace Conference at Paris. In Tiflis the Armenian offensive and the hostile attitude of the Volunteer Army on the northern frontier proved the occasion of a cruel persecution of the considerable Russian and Armenian element. During January 1919 numbers of Russians and Armenians were assaulted in the streets, and the military capacity of the National Guard was demonstrated in the systematic looting of houses in the Armenian quarter.

During the following months however the Georgian Government made a genuine effort to reconcile national differences

[1] *New Russia*, ii, 23, July 8, 1920.

The Bolsheviks subsequently established Soviets at Batum and Tiflis under the leaders of Georgian Bolshevism, and a Treaty was signed between Angora and Moscow, which confirmed the Turkish occupation of Ardahan, Artvin and Kars, and guaranteed to the Turks free goods transit to Batum.

Following the Kars Conference (October–November 1921), which regulated the relations of the Angora Government and the Caucasian Bolshevist Governments, confirmed the Turks in the possession of Kars and Ardahan, and established a special régime for the Batum Provinces, the Soviet Government abolished by decree the independence of the three Soviet Republics of Transcaucasia, and established one federal union under Russian control, with a political capital at Baku—the centre of Bolshevist influence—and an economic capital at Tiflis. It should be added that the representatives of the four exiled Caucasian Governments (Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Daghestan) have also "concluded an alliance and established an understanding" by an agreement signed in Paris on June 10, 1921, providing for co-ordination of foreign policy, compulsory arbitration in disputes, and a Customs Union.

In general the situation indicates the development of a further phase of the Russian Revolution—the failure of the separatist movement of the border races and the reconstruction of the Russian Imperial unit through the agency of the Bolshevist military machine. Such a consummation in the Caucasus was, perhaps, inevitable. For the history of the last four years has demonstrated the political instability and military weakness of the national States. And from the standpoint of Russian Imperial policy the re-establishment of control over the Caucasus was a strategic and economic necessity.

Thus for reasons political, economic and moral, it is unquestionable that the future of the Transcaucasian peoples must lie in intimate union with Russia. The actual form of association between Russia and the Transcaucasians, as also the other border races, still remains to be evolved. But it is to be hoped that a liberal autonomy will allow to Georgians, Tatars, Armenians and Mountaineers alike the opportunity for prosperous economic development, and for the preservation of their individual characteristics. In an age of standardisation the distinctive cultures of ancient races are at once a source of advantage to civilisation and of delight to the individual.

[1] [for events preceding the settlement of 1924, see cont. 116, p 215 ff.--Analyst]

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 SU 137 C 137

steppe, extending as far as the Kuban' River; north of that stream it follows the fertile black-earth steppe, which continues to the lower Don. In the northeast, however, the decrease in precipitation is evidenced by a gradual change to the dry wormwood steppe, with salt flats, shifting sands, and bitter-salt lakes, forerunners of the Caspian semi-desert in the east.

SU 162 C 162

The population of the Lower Don and Northern Caucasus is more than 9 millions, giving an average density of 65 per square mile. The greatest concentration of the population is north of the Kuban'-Terek line, in the steppes, where Russians and Ukrainians predominate. These two ethnic groups came to this region from the north in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and constitute at present nine tenths of the total population. The Russians settled mainly in the eastern steppes, the Ukrainians along the Kuban' River. South of the Kuban'-Terek line live the indigenous mountain peoples of the Greater Caucasus; the Adyge (Cherkess or Circassians), Kabardinians, Ossetians, Avars, Laks, and others. The Slavic groups live in large administrative divisions, such as Rostov and Groznyy oblasts, Krasnodar and Stavropol' krays, while the many mountain peoples are organized in autonomous units, varying in importance and size, on the northern slope of the Greater Caucasus.

SU 928 C 928

Four ethnic groups of the Northern Caucasus lost their national identity and were resettled in other parts of the USSR following their alleged collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. The autonomous oblast of the Karachay was dissolved in 1943, and part of its territory was given to Stavropol' Kray, while the southern portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar (now Klukhori), was ceded to the Georgian SSR. The Balkar nationality, which constituted 16 percent of the population of the Kabardino-Balkar Autonomous SSR, was dissolved in 1943, and a section of its territory, in the southwest of the republic, was transferred to the Georgian SSR. The republic became the Kabardinian Autonomous SSR. The Chechen-Ingush Autonomous SSR was also dissolved in 1943 because of the alleged fifth-column activities of its two main ethnic groups, the Chechen and the Ingush. The greater portion of the territory became part of the newly created Groznyy Oblast and the adjacent North Ossetian Autonomous SSR (west), Georgian SSR (south), and Dagestan Autonomous SSR (east) each received strips of land along the frontiers.

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The Kuban' steppes are among the chief grain-producing regions of

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 SU 438*

Maykop on the Belaya River at the north foot of the Caucasus is the center of the oil field of Neftegorsk and Apsheronsk, more than 30 miles southwest. The city has a small-scale metallurgical industry and produces machine tools, agricultural and lumbering machinery, furniture, tobacco, canned goods, and meat. A 438

Stavropol' Kray

Capital, Stavropol'; area, 29,600, population, 1,500,000

SU 133*
C 133

Stavropol' Kray reaches to the crest of the Greater Caucasus only in its extreme southwestern portion along the upper Urup, a left affluent of the Kuban'. The basic portion of the region lies in the northern foothills of the Caucasus, the so-called Stavropol' upland, and in the dry steppes to the northeast. The watershed between the Caspian and the Black Sea basins passes roughly along the Stavropol' meridian, near the western border of the kray. Due to this circumstance, only a narrow strip of territory along the western boundary receives the benefit of the humid westerly winds blowing from the Black Sea. The rest of the area, east of the Stavropol' upland, is characterized by a dry climate. The yearly precipitation decreases from 16 inches in the west to 8 inches in the east; insolation and summer heat are very pronounced. Consequently, water courses are poorly developed, and trees are entirely absent. In the western and central portions fertile black-earth and chestnut soils predominate; only in the extreme east does the region have a semi-desert character.

SU 162
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The population of the region is predominantly Russian, with a strong Ukrainian admixture. In the southwest lives another section of the Cherkess, or Circassian, ethnic group, which is organized into the Cherkess Autonomous Oblast. This region, now known as Stavropol' Kray, was first organized within its present approximate limits in 1924, when it was called North Caucasus Kray. In 1937 it was renamed Ordzhonikidze Kray; it received its present designation in 1943. Prior to the Second World War, it also included the Karachay Autonomous Oblast, a division located in the southwest on the slopes of the Greater Caucasus. This autonomous unit, with an area of 3,800 square miles and a population of 150,000, had been constituted in 1926, when it was separated from the original Karachay-Cherkess Autonomous Oblast (formed in 1922). The Karachay, a Turkic people who constituted about one half of the population of the autonomous unit, were among those accused of collaboration with the Germans during the Second World War. In 1943 the nationality was abrogated, the people were dis-

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SU 631 928 C 631 728 persed and resettled, and the Karachay lost official recognition. The autonomous unit was abolished. Its major portion, including the capital, Mikoyan-Shakhar, now Klukhori, and the resort Teberda, and the village Uchkulan, now Madniskhevi, were ceded to the Georgian SSR, the strip along the upper Laba River passed to Krasnodar Kray; another portion, including the village Pregradnaya, was annexed to Cherkess Autonomous Oblast; the remainder became part of Stavropol' Kray proper.

SU 241 C 241 The climatic and soil conditions of the region are favorable to the development of grain farming and the raising of livestock for wool and meat, activities which prevail for similar reasons in the dry steppes of the Lower Volga Region, in northern Kazakhstan, and in Western Siberia. The main crops are winter wheat, sunflowers in the west, and cotton in the east. In the section bordering on the upper and middle Kuma River, irrigated farming is devoted to the raising of orchards, garden crops, and vineyards, the latter particularly in the Budennovsk–Georgiyevsk area. With the construction of the Nevinnomyssk Canal, to be completed during the current Five-Year Plan, the glacier-fed Kuban' River will be linked with the Yegorlyk, an affluent of the Manych, and new areas will be put under irrigation in the western part of Stavropol' Kray. Truck produce is grown intensively in the relatively urban areas of the health resorts (Pyatigorsk, Kislovodsk, and others) in the south and in the southwestern mountain area garden and dairy farming is carried on. In the northern and eastern steppes the raising of sheep is most important. On specially organized state farms two major breeds predominate: the merino sheep for the production of fine wool and the *volosh* sheep, which furnishes meat and coarse wool. The Alpine pastures in the southwest support the so-called Karachay sheep, which also is used mainly for meat. Dairy cattle are raised in the health resort district, and hogs and horses on the mountains slopes.

SU 236 C 236

SU [135] C [135] SU 438* C 438 The mineral resources of the region consist only of coal, which is worked in small amounts at Khumarinskoye and Ordzhonikidzevskiy, just north of Klukhori, of raw material for the chemical industry of Cherkess Autonomous Oblast, and of the mineral springs in the Pyatigorsk-Kislovodsk area. The products of agriculture and of the pastoral economy are partly processed within the region; some are exported in semi-processed form to other areas of the USSR. The principal export items are grain, vegetable oil, meat, tallow, dairy products, raw wool, fruits, and vegetables. The local industries are scattered